

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NEA-10 AF-10 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00

USSS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-15

USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-15 OMB-01 SR-02 ORM-03 SCEM-02

EB-11 DRC-01 /171 W

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P 101849Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3898

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORIY

USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 6537

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 2644

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XF, FR, UN

SUBJECT: MIDDLE EAST SITUATION& GOF VIEWS

SUMMARY: GOF'S POLICY REMAINS PRAGMATICALLY PRO-ARAB. GERMAN
OCCUPATION AND FRENCH NEED TO FIGHT FOR OWN LIBERATION
UNDERLIE GOF SYMPATHY FOR EGYPT-SYRIAN ATTACK; ALSO
HELPS TO EXPLAIN ITS OPPOSITION TO CEASEFIRE AT "STATUS QUO
ANTE" LINE IF BATTLELINE IS IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. GOF
BELIEVES GREAT POWERS HOLD KEY TO ME PROBLEM. END SUMMARY

1. QUAI ME DEPUTY DIRECTOR ROUILLON TOLD EMBOFF LATE
OCTOBER 9 THAT FRANCE WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK IN
PRESENT ISRAELI-ARAB CONFLICT, THE ELEMENTS OF
PEACEFUL SOLUTION BASED ON UNSC RESOLUTION 242, BUT
FEARS THAT BOTH SIDES NOW TRAPPED BY WAR PSYCHOLOGY. ROUILLON
HAD LONG PREDICTED WAR IF PARTIES LEFT TO THEIR OWN
DEVICES TOO LONG. HE HAD DISAGREED WITH COMFORTABLE
ASSUMPTION, WHICH HE EVIDENTLY ATTRIBUTED TO US,
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ISRAEL AND TO MANY EUROPEANS AND EVEN ARABS, THAT

CONTINUING IMPASSE MIGHT BE SUBSTITUTE FOR NEGOTIATED SOLUTION. HE BELIEVED SIX YEARS TOO LONG TO EXPECT SUCH IMPROVISATION TO LAST.

2. ROUILLON SAYS THIS VIEWPOINT IS PART OF EXPLANATION FOR FOREIGN MINISTER JOBERT'S OCTOBER 8 ME STATEMENT WHICH ASKED RHETORICALLY "DOES ATTEMPTING TO MOVE INTO ONE'S OWN HOME NECESSARILY CONSTITUTE AN UNEXPECTED AGGRESSION". ROUILLON STRESSED JOBERT'S SIMULTANEOUS CALL "FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT AND FOR NEGOTIATED SOLUTION". ROUILLON JUSTIFIED JOBERT'S RHETORICAL QUESTION AGAINST BACKGROUND OF FRANCE'S HEROIC "RESISTANCE" HISTORY DURING THREE GERMAN OCCUPATIONS. HE DOUBTED IF ANY FRENCH GOVERNMENT COULD DENY RIGHT OF NATIONAL LIBERATION TO OCCUPIED PEOPLES. ROUILLON SAID THIS PHILOSOPHY UNDERLIES ENTIRE GOF ATTITUDE TOWARD PRESENT CONFLICT AND US SHOULD UNDERSTAND. HE AID FOR SAME REASON GOF OPPOSES CEASEFIRE AT LINE OF STATUS QUO ANTE AS LONG AS CURRENT BATTLELINE IS IN TERRITORY OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL IN 1967.

3. HE DISTINGUISHED GOF FROM SOVIET PRO-LIBERATIONIST ATTITUDE SINCE LATTER HAD SYSTEMATICALLY SUPPLIED ARABS WITH WHEREWITHAL TO FIGHT FOR LIBERATION AND HAD PUBLICLY PLUMPED MOREFOR REVENGE THAN FOR NEGOTIATED SOLUTION. HE CITED BREZHNEV'S MESSAGE TO BOUMEDIANNE, ADDING QUAI ANALYSIS THAT BREZHNEV TRYING TO RECOUP FACE HE HAD LOST DURING NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE (THROUGH THIRD WORLD CRITICISM) AND AS RESULT OF PERMITTING LARGE-SCALE JEWISH EMIGRATION. REGARDING OF PERMITTING LARGE-SCALE JEWISH EMIGRATION. REGARDING US POSITION, ROUILLON WELCOMED MODERATION SHOWN IN STATEMENTS THUS FAR; HE HAD BEEN ABLE TO PLAGIARIZE DEPARTMENT'S PRESS SPOKESMAN IN DRAFTING PRIME MINISTER'S OCTOBER 9 SPEECH WHICH HE ALSO CONSIDERS MODERATE.

4. ROUILLON'S EXPLANATION OF GOF POLICY WAS OFFERED AS BACKGROUND TO OCTOBER 9 STATEMENTS OF PRIME MINISTER

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MESSMER IN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (SEPTTEL), AND FRENCH PERM REP IN UNSC. AT THEIR OWN REQUEST, AMBASSADORS OF ISRAEL AND MOST ARAB COUNTRIES HAVE CALLED ON JOBERT OR ONE OF HIS TOP DEPUTIES. THEY HAVE BEEN TREATED TO CRISP EXPLANATIONS OF GOF'S PEACEFUL SOLUTION POLICY, AND HAVE REPLIED IN LARGELY BELLICOSE TERMS. FRENCH URGED TEL AVIV TO SPARE LEBANON -- FOR WHOSE NEUTRALITY GOF FEELS SOME RESPONSIBILITY -- AND RECEIVED REASSURING GOI REPLY.

ROUILLON STATED THAT SADAT, TALKING TO FRENCH AMB IN CAIRO, SPOKE MOSTLY OF CURRENT "BATTLE OF DESTINY" BUT ASSURED GOF HE READY ENTER SOME FORM NEGOTIATION AS SOON AS HE HAD GAINED MILITARY SUPERIORITY. SADAT SAID HE WOULD ALSO BE SPEAKING IN IDENTICAL TERMS TO UK AND US.

5. ROUILLON SAID HE THOUGHT HE UNDERSTOOD RATIONALE BEHIND EGYPTO-SYRIAN ATTACK; CAIRO AND DAMASCUS HAVE BROKEN THE ME IMMOBILITY. THIS WILL SET IN MOTION SCENARIO WHICH INCLUDES ARABS REGAINING THEIR DIGNITY; ARABS THEREFORE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE (ALBEIT IN-DIRECTLY); AT SAME TIME, ISRAEL PLACED IN PSYCHOLOGICAL POSITION OF INFERIORITY; LONG-SOUGHT SOLIDARITY AMONG ARABS PERMITTING THEM TO MAKE EFFECTIVE USE OF OIL WEAPON. THIS IN TURN WILL FORCE GREAT POWERS TO BRING ABOUT SOLUTION, NOT ONLY TO PREVENT FURTHER CONFLICTS, BUT ALSO TO PROTECT THEIR OWN ECONOMIC INTERESTS. ROUILLON ADMITS THIS PICTURE COULD BE RADICALLY CHANGED IN EVENT OF CATASTROPHIC ARAB DEFEAT.

6. COMMENT: FRENCH POLICY IS CONSISTENT -- PRAGMATIC AND UNSENTIMENTAL. THEY ARE PRO-ARABFOR LARGELY ECONOMIC REASONS. THEY SEEK PEACEFUL SOLUTION PER UNSC RES 242 WHICH IN FRENCH IMPLIES ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN 1967. THEY ARE PERSUADED THAT GREAT POWERS (INCLUDING THEMSELVES) HOLD KEY TO THIS SOLUTION.
IRWIN

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